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HENRY WARD BEECHER.

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THE LESSON FROM PARIS.

"How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her; for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her."—Rev. xviii., 7, 8.

I do not apply these words to the condition of the fashionable capital of Europe, as if I supposed they were a prochecy; although, if they were, we scarcely can imagine how the lines could have been framed more exactly to fit the condition of affairs. It is rather because of this singular adaptation, and rather as an illustration, that I have taken them, than as a part of prophecy.

The outburst of war, which last summer took place in Europe, was one of the most sudden and terrific which ever visited that war-worn continent; and the results were without a parallel in history. It seemed as though wars had been so numerous that they scarcely could make for themselves a new path and a new issue; but we were mistaken. In one campaign, the proudest and most warlike nation went to pieces like clay before iron. And the world felt that it had been living in an illusion; that this empire had not been strong, but had only pretended to be, so easily was it destroyed, and so utterly futile was every exertion of its strength.

The whole world was moved, not to wonder alone, but to profound compassion. And then, when the severity of battle remitted, so that access might be had, the hand of charity was reached out from every civilized people on the globe, somewhat to alleviate the distressing wounds and calamities which war had made in France. And none of us expected, then, that there would speedily spring out of that war another war more cruel and more terrible than anything that had gone before.

Scarcely had the most elegant capital of Europe escaped from the misery of famine, before it fell into the clutches of misrule; and the scenes which have transpired in Paris during the last month,

Sunday Evening, May 28, 1871. Lesson: Rev. XVIII., 1-8. Hymns (Plymouth Collection): Nos. 1020, 1011, 982.

increasing in horror every week and every day, have filled the world with amazement, and shocked every sensibility.

In no other city could the contrast of former gayety with present wretchedness be so striking. There are hundreds that sit before me who have made their pilgrimages thither, who have dwelt in its palaces, who have strolled through its galleries with delight, who have admired its cleanliness, and who have marveled at the abundance of its resources for satisfying the rarest appetite and the most exquisite taste. Here was gayety almost without a cloud. Here was festivity that beat with dancing foot the hours almost around the year. Was there ever any place on earth so fashioned to make men gay, and genial, and happy, as Paris? Its government, its order, its safety, its cleanliness, its economies, its rarities, its luxuries, its art, its science, its beauty—the imagination teems with these elements which belonged to it; and now it is soaked with blood. Many of its fairest structures are smoldering in ashes. Thousands and tens of thousands of festering corpses lie along the streets. Multitudes of its people are in exile. More of them are dead; and many others wish they were dead. The scenes of the hideous French Revolution are enacted again. Evidently there is the same people there. Their nature is not changed. Beneath all this gayety, beneath all this kindliness, there is the terrible ferocity of the tiger.

It will not, however, do for us to look upon this with mere exclamatory feeling. Still less should we congratulate ourselves upon our own safety and superiority. We may not always be secure. It is true that we are of a different race-stock; it is true that we have had a different political education; it is true that our industrial relations are very different; but, after all, there is a certain general likeness in human nature; and no nation (in the contiguity of nations, by reason of the annihilation of space through magnetism) can now afford to see the experiments which are going on in any other nation without taking heed of its own possibilities. At any rate, if we mean to live, it must be by wisdom derived from others' misfortunes; it must be by taking heed of their mistakes, and avoiding them.

The universal horror of the cruelty of the murderous wretches that have had possession of Paris is well founded. Greater cruelties, I apprehend, have been; and yet, the wantonness of the deeds that have taken place there admit of no extenuation, and no apology. They may, however, admit of some explanation.

There was no end in view to be promoted by the sacrifice of life. There were ends that they were seeking, but they were ends which were thwarted by cruelty. Blood cements nothing.

We must not, however, roll up this murdering mass of men as simply monsters, acting without an idea, and only inspired by the insanity of fanaticism, and a fanaticism of cruelty. They were seeking, really, the reconstruction of the State. They were philosophers. They were organized for far-reaching political ends.

Who were they? What was their philosophy? What were their aims? We hear much of the Communist and of the Commune; and yet, one would scarcely choose to employ his own judgment in describing them. But it may be fair to take the description and judgment of one who, if not of them, is closely allied to them, or next in gradation from them, and who in many points holds their sentiments.

I select from the New York *World* newspaper a letter written by Robinet, the Positivist, of Paris, and sent to Professor Beesley in London, and communicated to this New York paper by its London correspondent. Robinet says of the Communists, from whom he separates himself distinctly, but with whom he also has strong affinities in many single points:

"Their philosophy is atheism, materialism, the negation of all religion. Their political programme is absolute individual liberty, by means of the suppression of governments, and the division of nationalities into Communes more or less federated. Their political economy consists essentially in the dispossession, with compensation, of the present holders of capital, and in assigning the coin, instruments of labor, and land, to associations of workmen. And their historical theory is, that the nobility and the bourgeois have each had their reign, and that the turn of the proletariat has now come. They exclude all that is outside of the working class from society, considering it as socially and even physiologically effete."

Such is the doctrine of the Central Committee of the National Guard and of the Communal Council, sitting at the Hotel de Ville, which, since the 18th of last March have been absolute masters of Paris.

He goes on to state:

"Neither the Committee nor the Council has put forward this programme in an official way, and they defer the execution of it by government or forcible means, till after the victory which they reckon on gaining over the Versaillist party."

The extraordinary part of this is, that it is not merely the upburst of a rabble which we have seen in Paris, that it is not merely the fury of men suffering physical wretchedness, as has been supposed. Such brutal civil wars all ages have seen. With paroxysms of cruelty from men that wreak their vengence without discrimination or intelligence the world is not unacquainted. But this is a crusade in favor of certain distinct, moral, political and social ideas. The working men of Paris have been studying government. They

have read, talked, lectured, and listened. Doubtless they have had educated leaders. Men of ability, and of science, and of philosophy, have indoctrinated them. And these are their pupils. The vast mass of the working population of Paris have been studiously, silently, consecutively educated in a distinct scheme of government, a distinct scheme of morality; and the bottom has broken up; and this mighty revolution has taken place—this terrible war in Paris for the purpose of gaining certain great definite ends.

This throws new light upon the movement, and gives it far more importance. It is not a squabble of wild beasts for food. They attributed all their unhappiness not simply to government, as we learn, but to society. And they assume that men have not found out the best relations by which man shall be laced to man. And they are undertaking, now, to reconstruct society, increasing the amount of individual liberty. They seem to hold that there may be *absolute* individual liberty. Nor are they altogether alone in this dream. Other nations have sought the same thing.

It is an insurrection, then, not more against political government than against social organization; and it is proposed to make an experiment on a magnificent scale of the reconstruction of men's relations to each other, and of those ideas which have been slowly accreted through the experience of ages. And all the maxims and social laws that have gradually accumulated by the trials of men in every possible conjunction and circumstance, through thousands of years, are to be overturned. A new theory is to be set in motion by these men.

It is only just to say that in seeking these ends this under-class of Paris have evinced an energy, a patience, an indifference to personal suffering, a perfect willingness to die for what they believe, yea, and an eager refusal to live, which, if they had developed them in a truly just cause, would have been pre-eminently heroic. We look upon these terrific scenes in Paris, and see that if they were enacted for a righteous purpose, the men who are engaged in them might be added to the calendar of men who have not counted their lives dear unto them, so that they might achieve a higher development and a nobler liberty.

I do not mean in the slightest degree to extenuate the reckless cruelty which has taken place. I deem it to be atrocious, and without excuse. But if these men inflicted suffering on others, they took it themselves. If they hurled death upon hundreds and thousands, they opened their own breasts to the same death. They acted in a bad cause as good men would fain act in a good cause. And it is

this that makes it all the more dangerous—for I think we have not seen the end of this uprising.

It is to be observed, in this programme which one who knows them well has published, that the nobility and the great middle class, according to this new theory, have had their time of government. That is, society has been molded upon the monarchic plan, upon the aristocratic idea, upon the autocratic notion, upon the oligarchic foundation; and it has been molded to suit capitalists—the great prosperous middle class. And now, there is to be a government which shall be shaped to suit the bottom of society—the great working-class. And they declare (it is declared for them, at any rate) that only those who belong to this class are to be considered worthy of political status and power. Instead of the whole of society organizing by class-interests, and making one government of the whole people, there is now to be a new experiment. As the top of society has organized and failed, and the middle of society has organized and failed, the bottom of society is going to organize—and it will fail, too.

The contrast between the gayety of Paris and this sullen underclass that has been educating itself and watching from beneath, forces itself upon every imaginative mind. While the upper-class sung and danced, and wearied the hours burdened with pleasure, right beneath them, and mingled, it may be, with them, were these sullen-eyed men that had their purposes, and only waited for the time of their execution.

I have seen, in the thicket, birds flitting from branch to branch, while crouched beneath, waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon them, lay the cat. As they drew near, he gathered himself up for a spring; and as they flew further away, he sank back into a state of repose; but he still waited for a chance to secure his prey. And underneath all this gayety lay these men, like a tiger watching and crouching for his victim, waiting to spring upon the pleasure-seekers of Paris.

What a contrast is there, too, in the imagination of those who have gone for business ends to Paris, and have seen the product, but not the producers! The merchant has seen their wares that filled the world with admiration; and he has brought home their silks, their ribbons, their pictures, their silver and gold ornaments, their varied machines, their ten thousand instruments of luxury, Pompeiian in splendor; and yet he has not gone back into the shop to feel the pulse that had lava in it. He has seen the wealth and the beauty of mechanic art, but of the thoughts and purposes of the mechanician how little has he known!

A man may walk through a great city, and take its length and breadth, and gauge it in various ways, and go away from it knowing nothing of the real power and strength of the most important elements in it.

Now, in every considerable city in France, it is to be believed, these views to a greater or less extent prevail. The working people of the manufacturing cities in France are substantially in sympathy with the Communists of Paris. This is not, therefore, a boil breaking out in one place. It is a puff from a volcano; but all around the mountain there are crevices through which the same sulphurous odor is emitted, showing that the whole mountain stands upon liquid fire. Without a doubt, there is a leaven among the working men of Europe of the same kind. Difference of race-stock, and difference of education, will make material modifications; and I apprehend that there never can be Communism in Germany as it exists in France. I do not believe that the Germanic stock can be run away with as the old Romanic stock can. Where the old Romanic blood is predominant, there are paroxysms, and spasms, and revolutions, and absolute fealty to leaders, whether they be cruel or humane. The Germanic stock is naturally self-restraining. Individual liberty knows, with it, how to cohere, and how to act with moderation and prudence. And I do not greatly dread the spread of Communism. But it is proper to say that there is a leaven of this theory, and that unless kindly influences are brought to bear upon it, all Europe will, sooner or later, be in alliance with such ideas and tendencies.

If you look at the purpose of the working men of France, you will find that they are almost universally without religious faith. It is not to me so very important that men should belong in this church or that church, in this creed or that creed (although I have a profound conviction that it makes a great deal of difference what creed a man believes in); but that men should be without religious inspirations of any kind is simply shocking. It remits them again to the catalogue of animals. It takes from them that which has been productive of almost every single element of progress in human life. If you annihilate the faith of the future; if you destroy the belief of a superintending Providence; if you destroy all faith in a personal God; if you sweep the horizon with your compass, and say, "That is the only eternity which men have;" if within this narrow circle, men are to live for the greatest amount of physical enjoyment, spirituality being disowned, then you have but a cage of unclean beasts. And I do not believe it is possible to rear up a system of industry—certainly not a nation of households—still less the fair fabric of a powerful and organized people—where there is no radically religious

control; where there is no inspiration of humanity; where there is no sense of brotherhood, except that which is begotten of pure interest.

It is materialistic; that is to say, it casts out of its faith and belief all spiritual things, and all the great invisible world beyond, where men are to be held accountable for the deeds done in the body.

That Communistic faith which has made this contest, and which is to be heard from again and again in the history of Europe, is revolutionary in its nature—*radically* revolutionary. It proposes not to make anything better, not to modify anything, not to stimulate new growths and new developments—nothing of the kind. It does not mean progress. It means revolution. It means absolute reconstruction from the foundation. And as soon as it can be done, force will be applied to carry out these philosophical notions. It is organized, and organizing. It is no longer a nameless rush. It has patience in it. It has learned to wait. It has also learned to act. It has learned to act by combination. And it is imparting its ideas to other cities and other nations.

The organization which is going on at the base of society among men who substantially sympathize, whether through ignorance, or through narrowness of their circumstances, or their oppression as laborers, has in it many elements of education; but unfortunately it is an education on the malign side, and is preparing them to despise law and custom, and to upturn society from the bottom. And we ought not to be ignorant of this, nor to be ignorant of its great danger. It is uniting the laboring classes of the world in sympathy.

Already, in a community which is the freest, and where expansion is indispensable, and where labor has its highest remunerations, and its most perfect freedom, the laboring classes are united, and are studiously organizing and preparing themselves to march with the great band that is filling the world. There is trouble in the future for Europe. This is a single outbreak; but it is a kind of hideous John Baptist which is going before an infernal Messiah. It is showing what is coming, to those that have an ear to hear. It may be avoided if timely heed be taken; if political power be distributed; if better ideas are inculcated with the same zeal and assiduity with which evil ideas have been; and if religion shall no longer be represented as a gorging institution of power in alliance with the State, and no longer as a part of the instruments by which the poor are made poorer, and beaten down. If religion shall come as a benign spirit, and distill like dew upon the grass and the flowers, this mischief may be anticipated and prevented; but unless there be some

timely apprehension of it, Europe is destined to a series of shocks of which this is but the *avant courier.*

The question now naturally comes home, To what extent are we, on this side, in danger of similar insurrections? If one should take the account that is given of New York (and perhaps it is not much exaggerated); if one consider what a receptacle it is of nationalities; if one considers how vast is the number of those who do not speak our language, and cannot therefore be in affinity with American ideas; if one considers what use has been made of this great underlying population; if one consider what corruption is attributed to it, or to those that manage it; if one call to mind the violations of public safety which have taken place, and the various corruptions wnich have been proclaimed, he will be apt to suppose that we are in imminent danger, and that we, too, may have a Paris, if not from our own population, from that which has been grafted upon us, but has not had time to grow to the parent stock.

I apprehend, however, in the first place, that our dangers in this country lie not in the direction of the lower classes, primarily. We must work a change before they will be organized in America in such a way as to be dangerous to the State. But there is danger of a wide and rapid separation of the classes in society Since we have no classes established by law, and demarked by fixed lines on one side or the other, and since there can be no classes except those which voluntarily are formed in the struggles of men for strength and wealth, it may be supposed that there is no special danger here; but there is danger. It is always dangerous to have different parts of the population antagonistic to each other. It is dangerous that there should be a large upper class full of riches, full of pleasure, and full of leisure, and a large under class who believe themselves to be as good and as deserving, but who are empty of leisure, empty of wealth, and empty, for the most part, of all but physical pleasure. And if this country stratifies itself, and those influences prevail which separate the rich from the poor, the upper from the lower sections, in society, we shall come into very imminent perils, and very deadly ones. The extraordinary organization which is going on in capital, by which it controls, or tends to control, the legislation of the country, and the whole commerce of the country, directly or indirectly, as they are related to the political and other interests of the nation—this organization by which a new power is springing up, and developing itself in the hands of a plutocracy, of an aristocracy of wealth—this is an element of danger, and of imminent danger. It is going on in our sight, and we see the beginnings of it, though we do not see the ends. It is tending to produce divisions and

separations in our society which the strength and elasticity of our political system will scarcely be able to endure. Unless we are aroused, and timely aroused, to a consideration of this great increase of accreted power, and unless we put barriers in its way, either of legislation or of public sentiment, and stop its progress before it be swollen to despotic proportions, we shall prepare for our children and our children's children mischiefs which the imagination does not like to foresee, nor to measure.

On the other hand (not to draw the picture altogether on the dark side), we have a religion in this country which is free from the State, which belongs to the people themselves, and which is not represented by vast and powerful corruptions like that of Rome. We have a religion which springs up by the side of the cradle, and finds its sweetest sanctuary in homes where hymns and chants are sung by mothers and little children. We have in this land no proud hierarchy, with historic embellishments, knitted together—a class made sacred, and standing apart from their fellows in society. Our preachers are not priests, but *ministers*. They are brethren among brethren. Although there be interlaced, here and there, another order; although, here and there, there be progress made by hierarchical religions, in the main, the power of religion in America proceeds from those who believe in the democratic element of religious life.

So we have much to be thankful for; and much danger is warded off from us, in that our people are everywhere kindly disposed to religion. The working men in Europe have felt so many burdens, so much has been wrung out of them, they have been so shut up, and they have been so battered and beaten by what is called *religion* by the churches, that I scarcely wonder that they cherish malign feelings, feelings of animosity, against it.

It is a sad thing that the palaces are burned; but it does not transcend the imagination, how men should have such spite as they manifested in the burning of them. The boy prefigures the man. Who ever, driving the cows a-field, barefooted, and making haste, and striking his foot against a stone, has not, while suffering from the stinging pain caused by the blow, beaten the stone, that was not at fault, because it hurt him? And when men, running against the stone bulwarks of churches and cathedrals, out of which have come sharp pangs and pains, and against palaces, which, to them, have no poetic associations, and out of which have come their oppressors, and that are looked upon as horrid and hideous places which have been the dens of those oppressors—as unclean places where devouring broods of despots have swallowed up their liberties

—I do not wonder that there should be the feeling, "Put the torch to everything that tends toward the old tyrany!" It was not justified; but it may thus be explained. I do not marvel that these fanatical men should have believed that all government was oppresive and wrong. And if the working men of Paris firmly believed that they held in their hand a pattern by which happiness could be given to the world, I do not marvel that they should have said, "Better wipe out Paris as a city, and build as in a wilderness, than that it should stand fortified, and continue to oppress men, and work mischief on them." It does not justify them, but it explains how their fanaticism has turned them against their own fair city.

There is not a historic precedent, there is not a form of law, there is not a process of manhood, that could live an hour in this country, if men here had the associations which they have in France, or in Europe, in connection with the Church, or with many parts of the State. The fair fabric of this government was built in the wilderness. We bemoan our fathers' trials. We sympathize with them because they had plain food, and lived almost shelterless in the dreary winter. But ah! *we* rejoice that they were in the wilderness where no man chose to follow them, and where they could rear the pillars of government on foundations of natural justice—as they did. It was their blessing. It was the great blessing that God gave to them. The ocean was the barrier of their protection, and their insignificance was the reason why men let them alone till they had so builded that future ages might not take down what they had built. And all our laws and institutions are so founded upon right principles, that they savor of benevolence and justice and kindliness.

The religious sentiment in this country is the sentiment, not of the upper or the middle classes alone, but as much of the lower. The spirit, the inspiration, of faith, belongs to our people, down to the very bottom. Woe to that nation whose lower class, stripped of every thing on earth by men, have stripped themselves of every thing in heaven, and have no God, and no protector, and no warm bosom of faith, but sit in the chill of unbelief, shivering in their own unconscious poverty.

Then our population is not compressed as is the population in Europe. Whatever be our dangers, we shall not feel them for some time to come. The troubles that overtake men there cannot be escaped from. Men cannot run away. And so they stand still, and are ground, and irked, and irritated. Here a certain degree of inconvenience merely drives people away from one place to another. They go out of one city into another. They go out of the city into the town, and out of the town into the country.

Cheap land, that will not fail for generations to come, is the natural remedy for many of those faults which come by compression; so that we need not look for any immediate irritation and outbreak such as visits Europe.

The education, too, that our people undergo in the matter of political equality, has in it a surviving power, and is doing a work of preservation. But, after all, if we are to maintain our country in safety, we must still keep open all the channels of intelligence in this land. We are growing; and it is not a matter merely for pride, it certainly is a matter of congratulation and boasting, that we are becoming so strong in riches, and so vast in territory, and so mighty in population. But there are dangers which come with these increments. We must keep open, therefore, every channel of intelligence. An ignorant man is a dangerous man. It is in the dark, or unswept, or unwashed places that vermin breed. Where the broom and the sun come, there come not vermin. Where knowledge shines, there fanaticism is not apt to go. There growth is moderated, and becomes gradual. There experiments are few and cautious and wise.

For us, the newspaper is a greater treasure than uncounted millions of gold. If a man be worth his millions, he is all the more dangerous if he be ignorant. No nation can bear wealth that is not intelligent first. The newspaper is every year increasing in circulation; and as it increases in circulation, it increases in importance, not only as a moral power, but as a political power allied to morality, to a degree that those who conduct it do not suspect. Newspapers are to the body politic what arteries are to the human body, their function being to carry blood and sustenance and repair to every part of the body. Multiply them, and give them wider circulation. Would to God that those who conduct them might realize the full measure of their responsibility. Would to God that they had a true sense of patriotism, and a genuine love of intelligence and morality.

Then, next, the common school must be studiously employed to build up, not simply light and knowledge, but that sympathy between men which comes from their mingling together in the same sphere of life. I look upon this indirect effect of the common school as one of its blessings—particularly in this land, where so many classes are to be comminuted and mixed. The common school brings together the children of the rich and the poor, and lays the foundation for kindly interest and sympathy between them which they will never outgrow as long as they live.

I remember that the year I came to Brooklyn, I found in one of the churches a man who had been a boy alongside of me in old

Litchfield. We had gone to the unpainted brown school-house together. We had secretly whittled the benches together. We had together caught flies instead of ideas. We had played together. We had scuffled together. We had whipped each other—taking turns from day to day. And so we had grown up, he the child of an almost outcast shoemaker, and I the child of—Dr. Beecher! I had not met him for thirty years; but no sooner did he mention his name than my blood tingled, and we grasped hands as if we had had the same mother. It was because we had sat on the same bench in the common school, and had played together, when boys, although our parentage and our conditions in society were far apart—things which boys know but little about. And I think we cannot over-estimate that sympathy which comes from the mingling of the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak. The common school lays the foundation among boys for a knowledge of each other, a confidence in each other, and a sympathy with each other, which will not wear out during their whole life.

I believe in colleges, and academies, and select and high schools; but I would rather see all of them perish than to see the common school perish. I would fain have the common school made so strong and so good, so large and so luminous, so full of the marrow of good things, that they who dwell in the neighborhood of it, no matter how rich they may be, cannot afford to send their children anywhere else. Make that which you do for the common people better than that which can be done by select classes in the community for themselves. They are doing this in Massachusetts, and especially in Boston. Make such provision for the education of the commonest common people, that the richest uncommon people will come suppliantly and ask for their children the privilege of participating in the advantages of the common school. Do not destroy the common school. And keep it *common*. Bring everybody to it, and let them there learn each other's brotherhood. And thus, society, beginning and passing through the common school, will form sympathetic associations which will go on unfolding themselves afterward, and which will no more be forgotten by men than the wide-spreading branches of a tree forget the roots from which all their magnificence draws sustenance.

We must also renew and increase in our loud respect for law; and therefore law-making must be made respectable. We must teach our children to have more regard for civil administration; and therefore we must see to it that civil administration is worthy of the regard of honest children and youth. We must bring a noble spirit of heroism to bear upon the administration of public

affairs, and see to it that the commonwealth shall not come to shame by reason of the infidelity of its various members.

We must give force to every religious influence, also. We must have a religion which inspires self-restraint; which widens the horizon by adding to the spiritual and the beautiful of the present; which inspires a feeling of responsibility to God, and of true brotherhood among men. It is quite an insignificant question, whether this or that creed be right. It is quite insignificant, whether men are descended in an authorized line, or whether they have liberty to develop themselves without historic lineage. These things have some interest; but that which concerns every man in the religion of the country, is, that it shall inspire self-restraint, whatever be its creed. It should be a religion that makes men spiritual, and inculcates in them a wholesome belief in the life to come, and controls the life that now is. It should be a religion that inspires a feeling of responsibility to God. Nothing holds a man to such care of himself, nothing holds a man to such probity, and nothing, therefore, is such a guarantee of his safety, as the feeling, "I must give account of myself before God." And whatever may be your particular faith, whatever be your method and polity, see to it that the religion which breathes from your church shall inspire self-restraint, belief in immortality, responsibility to God, and brotherhood among men.

Beware of religious faiths that separate men. Beware of religious faiths that put forth a hand bearing a flail, and go into life beating down, beating down, and beating down each other. Look for those religious administrations that draw men together; that inspire good will; that teach patience and gentleness and forbearance. Look for sweetness, and not for bitterness. Look for a forgiving spirit, and not for unrelentingness. Demand and secure, in the religion of the coming day, in the church that is to be, all that there is of mercifulness without impugning the strictness of justice; all that there is of gentleness without taking from the strength of the bones of responsibility.

So, if we give liberty to the whole people; if we educate them, and inspire them with a true intelligence; and if, above all, we crown their material acquisitions, and all that education gives them, with a sincere love for God and love for man, we shall have a people that is competent to grow, making wood such that the tree will be able to bear the beating upon it of the elements, and that the winter and summer storms which rock it shall make it elastic, but shall not break it.

Meanwhile, let us not forget those who are in bonds as bound

with them. Let us not read with eager and credulous eyes, and with morbid enjoyment, of the horrors that are taking place in other lands. What mothers' hearts are sacked! The burning of the Tuileries is sad; but the suffering of one desolated heart is sadder. The murder of multitudes of misguided men is horrible; but not the dead should command our pity. Those that live demand our compassion. Mourn for them. Think of the little children that are made orphans. Think of the girls that have no protectors. Think of the poverty of those who are left to suffer without work and without hope. Pity the Government. Pity the poor persons. And pity, too, the ignorant, the misguided, the mistaken, who have been inflamed to cruelty, following an *ignis fatuus*. Still they are our brothers, and their mistakes, and all the hideous cruelties to which their mistakes have led them, should not alienate our thoughts of them. Pray for them.

Pray for all men, and learn to feel that wherever a human heart suffers, even in the uttermost parts of the round world, there you have an errand, and there your heart should bear you in prayer to God, saying,

"Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We humble ourselves before thee, our Father, for all thy greatness and all thy goodness, which make us feel how unworthy we are of such parentage. It is not our fault that we are smaller than thou, nor that we are not greater than the design of thy creation hath made us; but it is in the use of the powers which thou hast given us that we perceive how far short we have come of knowledge. We have not that which we might have had, nor have we walked in the light of it, nor restrained ourselves according to the law that is in our inner parts. We have not known the way of peace, to pursue it. We have gone aside to do evil. Again and again, and often, when we knew it to be evil by the sharp-piercing penalties which it brought, we have still been drawn to it, and have had occasion to mourn over our own folly and our own guilt, our blindness and our infatuation. But we rejoice, while we make mention of our own estate, that we are speaking to One who is full of condescension, full of compassion, abhorring evil, but not the evil-doer; seeking to rescue, but not to condemn; seeking to bring near and to reform but not to cast off and to refuse. We rejoice in thy graciousness. Our hope is in thee. For we are not ourselves strong to do good. And though we have aspirations many, how much do they mock and rebuke us, rather than draw us upward! How much better can we see the right than perform it! How much do we behold the ideal life! and yet how little do we enter into it! By the grace of God we must be forgiven for the past, strengthened in the present, and helped in the future. And to thy strength we bow ourselves, acknowledging thy goodness and thy sparing mercy. And we commend ourselves still to that same tender care, and that same divine love, praying that thou wilt do exceeding abundantly more for us than we can ask or think. We pray that thou wilt grant us the blessing of those hopes which bring us near to thee, and wed us to thy government.

And grant that these same hopes may spring up intelligently in the hearts of all this great people. We pray that this nation may be a God-fearing nation; that thy laws may not be burst asunder, and thy cords cast away from us. May we rather give heed to thy laws, and walk in them, that we may have the favor of God, and that prosperity which that favor always brings. Pity those that are weak, and that have been despoiled. Pity those that are ignorant. Having eyes, they see not; and ears, they hear not; and a heart, they do not understand. And yet, minister unto them. Stir up thy people, we beseech of thee. Become their Instructor and their Saviour. And we pray that all those who are scattered wide abroad throughout this great land, and are gradually growing compactly into national life, may be pervaded by a true religious feeling of love to each other, by a generous regard for the welfare of the whole, and by an intelligent judgment of duty.

And we pray that the prosperity of this nation may not ungird it, and lead it to dissoluteness of life. We pray that thou wilt grant that it may be established in righteousness. And while we look abroad upon nations that are drinking blood and passing away, we pray that we may not forget our own suffering, or the dark days and trying hours which we have known, and that we may not arrogate to ourselves such superiority over others, because for this hour we are secure and they are tempest-tossed and not comforted.

We pray for all the nations of the earth. Pity and spare those which thou art chastising, and bind up where thou hast bruised, and establish again the goings of those who have been cast down.

We beseech of thee that thou wilt grant that religion may break forth from all the forms that have encased it, and from all that has tarnished it or sullied its loveliness, and that it may become the portion of all men, that from the bosom of God they may learn justice, and temperance, and forbearance with each other, and kindness, and all things that make for peace.

We pray, O Lord! that thou wilt grant, if it be thy righteous will, that progress may go forward, not by revolution, but by reformation. May statesmen be endowed with wisdom from on high, and may the people have patience to wait for the growth of better things, and not rudely snatch at the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and bring down upon themselves condign punishment.

We pray, O Lord! that thou wilt turn the hearts of men everywhere toward each other. We pray that rapine, and hatred, and all forms of mischief which men inflict upon each other may pass away. Come, O bright day of promise! when the glory of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters fill the sea.

May we pray from day to day, and more fervently than ever, *Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done upon earth as it is in heaven.*

Wilt thou prepare us for the services of the evening; for the lessons of instruction to which we may be drawn.

We beseech of thee that thou wilt grant that the spirit of the Sabbath may go with us through all the week. Be with us while we live. And grant, at last, that when we are called to the solemn hour of death, we may exchange worlds joyfully, and go singing to our home. And to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, shall be praise evermore. *Amen.*

PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our Father, we beseech of thee that thou wilt add thy blessing to the word spoken. Grant that we may from thy providence draw lessons of knowledge and wisdom to guide our steps. Grant, we beseech of thee, to this great people, the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. As thou didst give thy presence to our fathers; as thou didst lead them to wise results; as in all times of peril thou hast guided our necessities, so we commend to thee this land again, God of our fathers, praying that thou wilt be the God of their children. And while we hail, and accept gladly, with sincere hospitality, the multitudes, almost countless, that are rushing hither from the narrow circumstances and the oppressions of foreign lands, Lord, save us, we beseech of thee. Grant that they may bring to us, not vices, to inoculate us with. May we, rather, have virtues that shall be able to sustain them. Grant, we pray thee, that we may mingle kindly, doing each other good. And may their children and our children, interlaced, go on in later days, building on the same foundations, gathering fruit from the same tree of liberty, worshiping with the same faith, and believing in the same God.

We pray that thou wilt overrule all tendencies to excess, to luxury, to self-indulgence. And wilt thou overrule all tendencies toward the development of unjust power, and toward the oppression of men. Purge our land. Purify our administrations. And grant that this may be a God-fearing land, and that thy blessing may rest upon it, and that all the nations of the earth, beholding, may worship thee, and draw near to thee, and find thee the Friend of the poor, the Deliverer of the captive, and the Builder-up of those who are laid waste.

And to thy name shall be all the praise, Father, Son and Spirit. *Amen.*

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